

Co-operator Toyohiko Kagawa

Toyohiko Kagawa (10 July 1888 – 23 April 1960) was a [Japanese Christian pacifist](#), social reformer, co-operative and labour activist. Kagawa wrote, spoke, and worked at length on ways to employ Christian principles in the ordering of society. His vocation to help the poor led him to live among them. He established co-operatives, churches, hospitals, labor unions and schools and published 150 books.

This paper includes a brief chronology and annotated lists – books by Kagawa and books and articles about Kagawa.

In Victoria, Australia in 1924 David Fletcher Jones began selling textiles in Warrnambool Victoria. Jones was influenced by Kagawa. Subsequently when Kagawa visited Australia in 1935, this included a meeting with Fletcher Jones and visiting the factory in Warrnambool. Fletcher Jones established his clothing design, retail and manufacturing business with an emphasis on quality, service and innovation with a primary concern for both his customers and his workers. The 1970's and 80's were the 'golden years' of Fletcher Jones with stores located across the breadth of Australia and manufacturing centres in Warrnambool and Mt. Gambier employing approximately 3,000 people.

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Edition Changes

This second edition incorporates changes. Under Books by Kagawa The Philosophy of Co-operation is corrected with a summary added.

The heading **Toyohiko Kagawa** has been renamed **Toyohiko Kagawa Chronology**,

The table on Basic Values is now preceded by a heading **The Philosophy of Co-operation** and an extended discussion after the table.

Co-operation Japan 2016

Every rural village in Japan has a co-operative store and access to co-operative financing and insurance. Almost every farmer, fisherman and forest owner is a member of a co-operative. The World Co-operative Monitor Report 2015 (ICA and Eurise) reported that of the 300 largest co-operatives and mutual organisations by turnover over GDP Per Capita in 2013 five Japanese co-operatives were in the top 20:

Ranking	Name	Type	Turnover over GDP Per Capita 2013
3	ZENKYOREN	Insurance	1,639,488.96
6	NIPPON LIFE	Insurance	1,315,151.97
8	ZEN-NOH	Agriculture and Food	1,251,911.62
13	MEIJI YASUDA LIFE	Insurance	900,696.40
17	SUMITOMO LIFE	Insurance	773,230.71

The total turnover of co-operatives in Japan in 2013 was 292.16 billion USD – fourth highest in the world after the USA, France and Germany.

In March 2015 there were 571 consumer co-operatives in Japan with total sales of 27,809 ,000 billion yen. Of these, there were 979 retail co-operative stores with 72,366 employees, a total business turnover of 3,365.5 billion yen and a market share of 2.65%.

Toyohiko Kagawa Chronology

A brief chronology of the life and activities of Kagawa. Kagawa's activities were not necessarily individualistic and involved others.

1909 Starts living in the slum of Shinkawa, Kobe.
 1912 Unionised the shipyard workers at Kobe and established a co-operative eating house
 1916 Organised tenant farmers in Ogden, Utah
 1917 – 20 Established a toothbrush manufacturing co-operative
 1918 Establishment of Rochdale Consumers' Co-operative for laborers
 1918 - 1922 Editor of Kansai Labor League newspaper
 1919 Establishment of West Japan Branch of Japan Federation of Labor– followed by Tokyo and East Japan Branch
 1920 Establishment of Kyoekisha co-operative
 1921 Establishment of Friends of Jesus sect – humanitarian activism and monastic piety
 1921 – 1922 Jailed twice for labor activism
 1922 Formation of Suiheisha (Levellers Society) advised and supported.
 1924 – 1925 Visits to USA and Europe
 1925 Establishment of Farmer-Labor Party of Japan and student co-operative societies
 1926 Establishment of settlement-church in Osaka and appointed to central committee at establishment of Rodonomito (Labor Farmers Party)
 1927 Only Japanese to a manifesto to the League of Nations opposing military conscription
 1928 Founded the Anti-War League, Friends of Jesus had 1300 “servants” in five Japanese cities and two overseas branches and established Kingdom-of-God Movement / Million Souls Campaign and preached to one million people and established Nakanogo Pawn Co-operative
 1929 Adviser to Social Service Bureau of Tokyo
 1931 Establishment of Tokyo Medical Buyers Co-operative and a kindergarten in Tokyo
 1935 Tour of Australia, New Zealand and Hawaii between February and July
 1935 – 36 Tour of Canada and U.S.A. with total attendance of 750,000 included Kagawa speaking at a Student Christian Movement conference in Indianapolis, Indian and inspired the subsequent development of student co-operatives.
 1940 Apologises to Republic of China for Japan invasion and is jailed as a traitor for 14 days
 1943 Arrested and charged with being a socialist and pacifist
 1945 President, Japanese Teachers Union and a leading figure in the re-established Japanese Socialist Party
 1946 Member of Government Food Production Committee and established Christian Union Press
 1950 World Tour – mainly USA and Britain
 1951 Establishment of Japanese Consumers' Co-operative Union to represent and serve all the consumers' cooperative societies of Japan

Kagawa's wish to Christianise Japan did not succeed. It is estimated that 1% of Japanese today are Christians. Between 30% and 96% of Japanese identify with Buddhism or Shinto.

He was nominated twice for the Nobel Prize in Literature (1947 and 1948), and four times for the Nobel Peace Prize (1954, 1955, 1956, and 1960).

Kagawa needs to be recognised alongside others who have contributed to the development of co-operative philosophy and theory – G.D.H. Cole (1889 – 1959), Charles Gide (1847 –

1932), George Jacob Holyoake (1876 – 1906), William King (1819 – 1875), Peter Kropotkin (1842 – 1921), Alexander Laidlaw (1908 – 1980). Ian MacPherson (1939 – 2013), Sir William Maxwell (1841 – 1929), Robert Owen (1771 – 1858), Sir Horace Plunkett (1854 – 1932), Ernest Poisson (1882 – 1942), George W Russell (1867 – 1935), James Peter Warbasse (1866 – 1957) and Henry Wolff (1840 – 1930)

Philosophy of Co-operation

Kagawa identified seven basic values for seven types of co-operatives:

Basic Value	Type of Co-operative
Life itself	Insurance
Labor	Production
Exchange	Marketing
Growth	Credit
Selection	Mutual Aid
Order	Utility
Purpose	Consumer

Kagawa argued that there are four fundamental principles of the co-operative movement – An idealistic conception of economic history, A theory of non-exploitation, A theory of brotherhood and A theory of social solidarity.

Kagawa argued that for the principle of non-exploitation we owe to the Rochdale weavers – one vote for one man, dividends in proportion to patronage and religious and political neutrality.

Kagawa rejected the argument that co-operatives were a form of capitalism but were very different because of its most vital principle of non-exploitation and its most important theory of brotherhood.. He argued that the greatness of the co-operative movement was in its theory of social solidarity – just as the principle of the Cross of Jesus is based on social solidarity.

For Kagawa establishing co-operatives meant establishing Christian ethics for an ethical revolution and a very quiet revolution – instead of the inclination of capitalism and communism for class struggle.

Kagawa's contribution to co-operation is based on (a) a consistent lifetime advocacy of co-operation in his writings and speeches (b) a belief that co-operation was Christianity in action (c) an emphasis on the significance of the spirit of co-operation as a determining basis for co-

operative businesses (d) co-operation as an alternative to charity and (e) a belief in the reality and possibility of a Co-operative Commonwealth for Japan and the World.

Books by Kagawa

Kagawa wrote more than 150 books, including novels, sociological and religious studies. The following have been translated into English:

Across the Death Line, Japan Chronicle Office, 1922 Japanese title Shisen Wokoete.
Subsequently published as Before the Dawn.

[A Grain of Wheat](#). New York, London: Harper & Brothers, 1936.

A novel about Kakichi from a poor village who leaves and returns after becoming a Christian. As a Christian he learns the three principles – love of land, love of one's neighbour and the love of God. He establishes co-operatives in his village – despite opposition from the police who believe they are secret societies and a dangerous idea.

A Shooter at the Sun, Japan Chronicle Press, 1925

A novel about Eiichi who become a Christian, discovered the slums and decided to free himself from the present social system as quickly as possible and throw himself into the labor movement. The novel is about Kagawa's own story of becoming a Christian and living and working in the slums.

Before the Dawn. Chatto & Windus, 1925.

Originally published as Across the Death Line. Changed title because it was believed the original title gave the false impression that it was about life after death – when it is about the human spirit in search of truth.

[Behold the Man](#). New York, London: Harper & Brothers, 1941. Also published as The Two Kingdoms by Butterworth Press, 1941.

Brotherhood Economics, Student Christian Movement Press, 1937

Reproduces four talks given by Kagawa at the Colgate – Rochester Divinity School in April 1936 with the title Christian Brotherhood and Economic Reconstruction – Is there a way out of Chaos, Christ and Economics, The Fallacy of Materialistic Economics, Philosophy of Change, Brotherhood Love through the Ages, The Modern Co-operative Movement, Brotherhood Love in action, The Co-operative State and World Peace Built on Brotherhood Love. Christianity is an alternative to capitalism. Modern co-operative is descended from the medieval guilds. The co-operative movement must be preceded by and accompanied by a thorough-going educational movement. The challenge is to harmonise freedom and brotherly love. Co-operative State should be established that incorporates the principle of brotherhood love and would have two houses of congress – the Social and the Industrial.

Christ and Japan. New York: Friendship Press, 1934.

An argument that Japan needs Christ – rather than Buddhism, Shinto and Confucianism. But not, however, the antagonism of the Protestants and the intolerance of the Roman Catholics. Protestants are criticised for their individualism and an emphasis on pulpit and preaching and the consequence this has on economic chaos and unemployment. Protestants should, instead,

devote themselves to service motivated by love. The economic solution is uniting of forces and a cohesion without coercion such as characterises the co-operative movement and placing of production exchange and distribution and consumption on a non-exploitative basis. Christianity has to awaken to the vital importance of developing the co-operative movement in order to save the world.

Cosmic Purpose, Cascade Books, 2014

Cosmic Purpose draws on research in physics, chemistry, astrophysics, mineralogy, genetics, and biology to offer evidence of purpose in the vast span of evolutionary history from the atom to human consciousness. In his attempt to renew our sense of wonder at this process, Kagawa proposes a "logic of finality" that links life to purpose. Edited with an Introduction by Thomas John Hastings. Hastings

Danish Impressions in An itinerant's journey, wandering pilgrimage etc. **Collected Works of Kagawa Toyohiko**, Vol 23, 3rd edition, Tokyor Kirisutokyo Shinbunsha, 1983. Originally published 1926.

Danish Impressions is based on impressions of a visit to Denmark by Kagawa between 13 – 18 May 1925 – a visit to get first hand impression of the Danish schools for adult farm workers and the co-operative movement. Without Christianity it will be impossible to create a country like Denmark. Mutual neighbour co-operation has become a religion in Denmark. Visiting Denmark, I have generally understood the meaning of Christianity in the life of a people. Coming to Denmark I have felt our ideal for rural reconstruction is more problematic.

Jesus Through Japanese Eyes, The Butterworth Press, 1934

The similarity between the daily life of Jesus and the people of Japan – suburban, daily schedule,, food and drink, habits, customs and wandering. Uses frequent quotations from the Scriptures. Jesus knew how really to see humanity – the way of the proletariat is the way of the eternal Cross. "The future world is a proletarian world. Mutually contributing to the bearing of the Cross, men must build a new heaven and earth, such as kings cannot imitate, founded on love, submission and sacrifice. Jesus was a proletarian of the proletarians.

Kagawa in Lincoln's Land, National Kagawa Co-ordinating Committee, 1936

Includes 16 addresses by Kagawa during a 1935-36 visit to the U.S.A. including The Story of the Brotherhood, The Rochdale Movement, Peace by World Co-operatives and Christianity and Social Reconstruction.

Kagawa in Australia New Zealand and Hawaii **Friends of Jesus**, Vol VIII No 1, February 1936

Report on more than 300 speeches to about 200,000 people between February and July 1935. Includes 11 addresses including The Meaning of the Cross, Science and Religion and Our Techniques of Kingdom Building.

[Love, the Law of Life](#). With a biography of Mr. Kagawa by Eleanor M. Hinder and Helen F. Topping. Chicago, Philadelphia, Toronto: The John C. Winston Co., 1929.

Kagawa said that this book was a statement of his system of love. Modern cities are solidified expressions of the greed of capitalism. Society based on love is the supreme sovereign - love alone can subdue the world. love binds society together from within and love is far removed from the idea of private possession as the essence of wealth. A society of co-operation where

no one is overbearing and no person is humiliated - a society that possesses a co-operative aim and follows a co-operative process.

Meditation on the Cross. Chicago: Willett Clark & Co., 1935.

Translator Helen F Topping asserts that there is a threefold Kagawa – an evangelist preaching to Japan, a social prophet insisting on the service of religion to social solidarity and as a great Christian. She argues that Kagawa sought to free Christianity from the enslavement it has suffered to bourgeois materialism.

New life Through God, Student Christian Movement Press, 1932

In his introduction, Kenneth Saunders argues that for Kagawa there are only Christians working for Christianity based on a five point program – piety, purity, peace, labour and service. In *X God and the New Social Order* Kagawa argues that history is not merely materialistic for God is working in history and that a new social order must have a spiritual foundation. No matter how strong they are and willing to work there are four reasons why the proletariat cannot accumulate property – insecurity of daily living, dependency, confidence and unemployment. Building a good social order requires five things – power of labor, the power of controlling things, occupations, the law enforced for man's enlightened aims and purposes to be realised. Denmark's mutual helpfulness is growing and the co-operative system is being taught and is founded on religion and there is a spirit of confidence. To build a similar society in Japan we must found it on the idea of mutual aid.

Songs From the Slums, Intro Sherwood Eddy, Vintage, 1935

A collection of poems by Kagawa on his thoughts and experiences when he lived in the slums – a mixture of squalor, misery and hope.

The Christian International ***Friends of Jesus*** Vol VI No 1 June 1933

Eight contributors on the concept of a Christian International. Kagawa's enthusiastic drive for the development of a system of co-operatives is based on the belief that in the co-operatives lies a solution to the evils and injustices of capitalism. This depends, however, on a large enough number of individuals committed to personal loyalty to Jesus Christ. There are ten contributions on co-operative including three by Kagawa – Christians are Dangerous, All Round Community Service Through the Co-operatives and Christians and the Co-operative Movement.

The Economic Foundation of World Peace – the Christian Brotherhood Movement, ***Friends of Jesus*** Vol V No 1 August 1932

Why communism cannot take the place of brotherhood movement – economic problems and Christianity and Marxism versus Christian solution. Three principles of rural economics – love of the soil, love of neighbour and love of God. The problem of poverty in rural districts – for abolishing pauperism and for the abolition of the proletariat. The organization of co-operatives – education organizers for the co-operative movement, the Danish School System, the organization of co-operatives in rural districts, start with producer co-operatives and time expected for propaganda and persons. 19th C social work was mostly individualistic and curative expressing the negative side of relief – the cure of the individual is too narrow. Right social work should help bring classes together without class struggle with mutual aid.

The Land of Milk and Honey, Hodder and Staughton, 1937

A novel about the possibility of co-operatives. The hero Tosuke leaves the poverty of a

village and learns about co-operatives and is inspired to establish co-operatives in his village – succeeding despite bitter opposition.

The Philosophy of the Co-operative Movement, Chicago Church Federation, 1936. Edited by Emerson O Bradshaw. An address given at International House, Chicago, 22 February 1936. In the address Kagawa discusses the four fundamental principles of the co-operative movement – An idealistic conception of economic history, A theory of non-exploitation, A theory of brotherhood and A theory of social solidarity. Includes a round table discussion with questions and responses – the running of a mutual aid society, the distinction between mutual aid and a credit union, organising Japanese farmers, techniques in urban centres, study groups, medical associations and co-operatives, the Economy community, co-operative hospital visit, spiritual and commercial, function of government, the spiritual element, order of developing co-operatives and share croppers.

The Practising Christian, Hodder and Staughton, 1937

A collection of thoughts – including a self-determined world, holy poverty, social solidarity, the tide of love, the wolf of poverty, two kinds of riches and violence is self-destructive

Books about Kagawa

Axling, William. **Kagawa**. Harper and Brothers Publishers. New York and London. 1946
The first major biography of Kagawa. A profile of Kagawa with an emphasis on a commitment to non-violence, piety and a lifelong social crusade for the under-privileged, the poor and the propertyless. Axling describes Kagawa as a social engineer – absorbed in actual programs instead of academic speculation. Programs that were based on deep-going strategy-building principles who believed human values were primary and money and material things secondary, change and organisation instead of violence and strikes and co-operating rather competition through co-operatives, producer' and consume' guilds, mutual-help guilds, sick-aid societies and credit associations. He calls Kagawa a communist but the communism of the early Christians and Tolstoy – rather than the Marxists. On pp. 197 – 237 are included random paragraphs from Kagawa's Meditations.

Bikle, George B., Jr. ***The New Jerusalem: Aspects of Utopianism in the Thought of Kagawa Toyohiko***. Tucson: Published for the Association for Asian Studies by the University of Arizona Press, 1976.

Describes Kagawa as a Christian socialist and confirmed utopian who offered practical answers to Japan's impatient dash from feudalism to modernity and what industrialization had done to the west. Dual themes of the book – the development of the strand of rational planning that infused Kagawa's perspective of the New Jerusalem and the social psychology of Kagawa's mystical religious beliefs and secular rationalization of his vision. Author argues it is not another biography of Kagawa but an interpretation of the utopian aspects of Kagawa's work. Notes that that working in the slums Kagawa realised that Christian giving was against personal dignity and self-reliance and that individual philanthropy was incapable of accomplishing social reform. Discusses Kagawa in the context of nationalism and militarism in Japan. Admits Kagawa's proto fascist romancing of traditional rural Japan but

denies he was a fascist and, indeed, his view on the New Jerusalem were non-fascist and that he valued democratic freedom and individual rights. Extensive use is made of extracts from and comments about Japanese language articles by Kagawa. Includes Chapter notes, bibliography and index. The bibliography includes 37 Japanese language and 15 English language titles by Kagawa.

Davey, Cyril James. [Kagawa of Japan](#). The Epworth Press, 1960.

Provides economic and political context for the achievements of and challenges for Kagawa. Kagawa's consistent adherence, the impact of his overseas tours on his thinking and actions, his ongoing socialism and commitment to activism through labor and co-operation.

Fukada, Robert M "Kagawa, Toyohiko" in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 1998), 350.

Schildgen, Robert . 1988. *Toyohiko Kagawa. Apostle of Love and Social Justice*. Berkeley: Centenary Books.

A major critical appreciation of Kagawa that aims to avoid what the author describes as victim biographies of an idealized holy man. When overseas Kagawa projected a positive image of Japan – glossing over repression in Japan and the Tokyo massacre when Japanese murdered 7000 Koreans living in the city and his propaganda broadcasts for Japan. While acknowledging Kagawa's co-operation advocacy. Schildgen emphasises that Kagawa was not a messianic leader but was drawing on a cultural tradition of co-operatives and mutual aid. By 1930 there were 14,000 co-operatives in Japan. Concludes that many of the reforms that Kagawa fought for have been incorporated in modern Japan e.g. the co-operative movement is flourishing. Unlike Axling, includes references, an index and direct Kagawa quotes.

Scott, Carolyn **God's Fool: Biography of Toyohiko Kagawa** (Biography for Today S.) Lutterworth Press, 1973

Lutterworth Press was established as the Religious Tract Society in 1799. This is a children's religious title briefly outlining the life of Kagawa – childhood, becoming a Christian, theological college, living in the slums, organizing dockyard workers, the Toyko earthquake and a world at war. Notes his view on labourers as human beings – they are not machines but must be able to develop as people. Notes Kagawa's belief that three things were destroying life in the cities – population concentration, the increasing use of machines and more and more money in the hands of fewer and fewer people. Kagawa's commitment to and work in developing co-operatives is ignored.

Simon, Charlie May Hogue **A seed shall serve: the story of Toyohiko Kagawa,; Spiritual leader of modern Japan** Dutton, 1958

Topping, Helen **Introducing Kagawa**, Willett, Clark & Company, 1935

A brief introductory biography of Kagawa – including his definition of the Kingdom of God Movement, turning old-fashioned charities into co-operatives and the great techniques invented in England – trade unionism, political socialism and democracy of the stomach through consumer co-operatives. Argues that what made Rochdale co-operation so

successful was as simple as a-b-c – economic democracy, fairness to capital and fairness to the customer. Kagawa said there were seven forms of the co-operative movement which needed an interlocking and international system to guarantee both peace and plenty for all – consumers’ co-operatives, producers’ co-operatives, credit co-operatives, mutual aid co-operatives, utilities co-operatives, insurance co-operatives. Refers to exaggerated and artificial relations between social workers and relief recipients.

Articles about Toyohiko Kagawa

Newspaper articles are extracted from Trove

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/>

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Journal articles courtesy JSTOR

<http://about.jstor.org/>

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A “Kagawa” Novel A Grain of Wheat by Kagawa, **The Methodist**, 21 October 1933, p. 3
Young Japanese Kakicai attracted to Christian message and succeeds, moral situation of delicacy and difficulty. Brother is a communist and the difference between Communism and Christianity.

Anesaki, Masaharu Social Unrest and Spiritual Agitation in Present-Day Japan **The Harvard Theological Review**, Vol 15 no 4, October 1922, pp. 305 – 322

Discusses post World War 1 political and social ferment with the Government acting for the propertied classes against the proletariat. As well as political and social ferment, there was also religious foment and the general discrediting of all religious and the appearance of new religious movements. Argues that in the spiritual ferment there were religious leaders who had achieved a higher harmony of special peace and religious zeal. Focuses on one Christian and a Buddhist. The Christian is Toyohiko Kagawa whose work in the slums for 10 years and his ideas on the meaning of social work deserve close attention and high admiration. Kagawa was working for the erection of what he calls human architecture. Argues Kagawa was not a social reformer with definite programs of policies but a spiritual reformer full of conviction and vision.

Bikle, George Utopianism and Social Planning in the thoughts of Kagawa Toyohiko
Monumenta Nipponica, Vol 25 No ¾, 1970, pp. 447 – 453

Argues Kagawa was an implacable foe of Capitalism and individual capitalists were unfortunate products of an abnormal social environment. According to Bikle, Kagawa relied on mature and ascetically disciplined personalities expending their lives in the service of others and he offered an alternative view to that of a wholesale and unplanned adoption of Western technology by Japan without concern for human side effects. Bikle categorises Kagawa as a Christian Socialist laborite committed to the guild state and occupational specialisation.

Brailsford, John A Dr Kagawa A Man of Many Parts. His Life and Character. Significance of Career. **The Mercury**, 1 April 1935, p 3.

Summary of a talk by Brailsford at Davey Street Methodist Church about Kagawa – risked his life, preached constantly, sent to prison, organised relief, novel published. Inspiration to leaders willing to risk life and livelihood.

Brailsford, John A Fight Against Slum Evil. How Dr. Kagawa Grappled with Stupendous Task. Endured Poverty and Disease. **Advocate** (Burnie, Tasmania) 6 April 1935, p.9
Gave up wealth, honor in slums, and winning life by losing it and suspected by police. Spiritual life is a river of love that flows one to another and yet another. We must be willing to lose life in order to find life.

Buschmeyer, Fred S **World Affairs**, Vol 109, No 1, March 1946, p.69

Review of Christ and Japan (1934) First two chapters provided intellectual and sociological explanation past Pear Harbour. Remaining chapters address building solid foundations of peace for the future and what Christ's spirit could do for other nations.

Churchill, Arthur C Cooperatives in Japan **Far Eastern Survey**, Vol 14 No 15, 1 August 1945, pp. 204 – 207

Roots of co-operation lie deep in the Japanese culture. Discusses Co-operative Law of 1900 and the four types of co-operatives under the law – credit, marketing, purchasing and machinery. Notes credit societies the backbone of the co-operative structure. Argues that the Japanese Government has used the co-operative movement to serve its own needs and has tended to stunt their growth. Chief development of consumer co-operatives was after World War. and an active labor movement and that Kagawa was the man most instrumental in their development.

Cogswell, James A Book review: Toyohiko Kagawa: Apostle and Social Justice by Robert Schildgen, **American Presbyterians**, Vol 68 No 2 (SUMMER) 1990, pp 134 – 136

A timely work in providing an updated and critical biography but also assessing Kagawa's relevance to contemporary Japan. Author writes from the perspective of a union and cooperative background. A thorough job in researching the cultural context for Kagawa's life drawing on a wide range of English and Japanese resources. Distinct advantage of the book is author's perception of the impact of Kagawa upon labor unions, farmer and consumer cooperatives, universal suffrage and the peace movement – compared with most church-

related biographies of Kagawa. A realistic presentation of the complex personality of Kagawa.

Dawber M.A. The Cooperative Movement and the Church, **The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science**, Vol 191, May 1937, pp. 70 – 75

Reflects on Kagawa's visit to the USA and his stated vision to "help build a world co-operative movement" - Christianize the cooperatives and cooperatise the church. Argues that cooperation is a way of life – human values over brute strength. Co-operation is the law of life – competition is the law of the jungle. Church has failed to apply Christian brotherhood and religious institutions have the choice of preaching a rugged individual salvation or take the lead in the organization of a more abundant life and, therefore, render a service to the philosophy of cooperation.

Fisher, Galen m The Co-operative Movement in Japan **Pacific Affairs**, Vol 11, No 4, December 1938, pp. 478 – 491

Discusses impact of co-operative movement in Japan – particularly with farmers. Briefly discusses the precedents for and the contemporary co-operative movement and that it has always been predominantly agricultural. Notes that it wasn't until Kagawa that Japanese co-operatives fully observed the Rochdale principles. Examines external opposition to co-operatives – although the co-operatives had not attacked capitalism and had not participated in politics. Briefly discusses impact of Kagawa with the development of co-operatives – consumer, rural, medical and a Co-operative Management School.

Inagaki, Hisakazu "Love of Neighbour"" and Toyohiko Kagawa's Christianity: Plural Society and Public Philosophy Published in "Featured Article" of www.GlobalMissiology.org, July 2011

Japanese Doctor's Visit Two Interesting Addresses His Experiences in the Slums Japan's Rural Life at Rotary **Horsham Times**, 19 April 1935, p. 3

Principle of Christ as standard for economic methods. Need to put spirit of Christ into industry, into business, into agriculture and into everything.

Japanese Union's Growth. Dr. Kagawa's address at Trades Hall **Telegraph** (Brisbane, Queensland) 16 March 1935, p. 11

Inception of trade union movement in Japan, communism did not suit unionism in Japan - preferred the British system of co-operation based on humanitarian ideals. Osaka first real medical co-operative. Co-operatives hand-in-hand with growth of unionism. Farmer form co-operatives for production and distribution of commodities.

Labor Movement in Japan. Address by Dr. Kagawa **The Age**, 3 May 1935, p. 11

report of address at a meeting of the Trades Hall Council about Japan – 1000 strikes a year, compulsory health insurance for 2,500,0000, objective of co-operatives is to replace the capitalist system with 14, 450 co-operative societies with a membership of 5,200,000 and a capital of 1,800,000 yen.

Laures, S.J. Rev. John Charity and the Apostolate in Japan **Southern Cross** (Adelaide), 21 November 1930, p. 9

Assesses Kagawa's advocacy for mutual aid and the objection that this will increase the number of rice Christians – those who join the church for material benefit. Kagawa argued that an effective material aid system is a practical expression of love – compared with the weakness of the Protestant Church lies in the fact that members are too individualistic going to church only to worship and no connection with one another as a living organism. Refers to co-operative society founded in Japan – The Kingdom of God Movement and The Mutual Aid and Co-operative Movement in the Church of Japan – its purpose to strengthen the spirit of solidarity among the members of a Christian congregation and to confer economic benefits upon those afflicted by sickness, poverty accident and unemployment and teach them the practice of mutual charity.

Morimoto, Anri The Forgotten Prophet: Rediscovering Toyohiko Kagawa **The Princeton Seminary Bulletin**, 2007, pp. 292 – 308

Kagawa was a trickster who shook and shattered the established order of society and created new values which have lasted in contemporary Japan the anti-war Article 9 in the Japanese constitution, health care and co-operatives. Concludes his writings on theology, economics and natural science were amateurish. Kagawa believed that for social reform to succeed it needed spiritual reform. His peculiar and grandiose evangelism did not materialise in increased worship attendance or church membership. Discusses Kagawa as being ambitious.

M.S.F. Progress of Cooperative Movement in Japan **Far Eastern Survey**, Vol 5 No 5, 26 February 1936, pp. 49 – 50

Kagawa responsible for much of the responsibility of co-operative movement with his emphasis on larger social ends for the cooperative movement. In 1933 there were 14,651 co-operatives with a membership of 5,247,542 – over one third of the total population. Agriculturalists formed in 1932 71% of the total membership. Notes that Kagawa has laid great stress on consumers' and producers' cooperatives as being more likely to aid the underprivileged. For Kagawa cooperation is a social philosophy – standing midway between the right and the left aiming at a gradual transformation of capitalism.

New Publication, **Daily Examiner** (NSW), 30 November 1933 p. 6

Review of Kagawa novel AA Grain of Wheat – three young people who learn about the love of land, the love of one's neighbour and the love of God.

The Dawn of a New Era. Significant Growth of an Eastern Idealism. Great Japanese teacher and Philosopher **Worker** (Brisbane), 31 July 1929, p. 13

Comments on two great Eastern Christians – Mohandas Gandhi and Toyohiko Kagawa. Discusses the role and philosophy of Kagawa in Japan – building up the labor movement with organisation of Japan Federation of Labor and Peasants Union and leading the first successful strike about dock-yard conditions. Kagawa introduced from Europe consumer and producer co-operatives and credit associations which were initially opposed by Government and big business. Kagawa is building-up a common people's party to foster social legislation.

Kagawa has identified two enemies – Communism and conventional Christianity. His religion is not divorced from politics and economics but controls them. Goal is to humanise industrial capitalist society – the religious ecstasy of brotherhood.

Ogawa, Manako “Hull=House” in Downtown Tokyo: the Transplantation of a Settlement House from the United States into Japan and the North American Missionary Women, 1919 – 1945 **Journal of World History**, Vol 15 No 3, September 2004, pp. 359 - 387

Notes that Japan’s welfare policy was developed from a strong sense of benevolence and that a Welfare Ministry was established in 1938. Discusses the establishment and role of settlement houses in Japan from the late 1910s – inspired by the settlement movement in the United States. Emphasis is on the Kobokan settlement in Tokyo and its vicissitudes, its survival beyond the Pacific War and still in existence in 2004. Notes that Kagawa was one of other leading Christians who also established settlement houses.

Toyohiko Kagawa Japanese Reformer His Life and Work **Newcastle Morning Herald and Miner’s Advocate**, 13 March 1934, p. 5

Dean of Newcastle on Toyohiko Kagawa – an analysis of his ideas based on his writings and the biography by William Axling. Kagawa concluded there were three 20thC tendencies tangling up the world – concentration of populations in the cities, the concentration of machinery and the machine’s mastery of men and the concentration of capital in the hands of the few – resulting in unfair distribution, exploitation, poverty and economic determinism. Kagawa - human values primary and money and material things are secondary, socialise the community’s and the world’s wealth, sympathetic co-operation replacing ruthless competition and wealth should be fairly distributed and a livelihood guaranteed.

World Reform Social System. Dr. Kagawa Submits Plan Favoring Co-operative Associations. **Examiner** (Tasmania) (12 April 1935, p. 8

Address to 1500-20000 at Albert Hall, Hobart, Tasmania on 11 April 1935. Co-operative associations on Christian principles would bring with them a Christian international. A world crisis of unemployment and the church is not doing much and is incapable of solving economic problems. If you want to have good contented settlers in rural districts you must have co-operative organisations.

You Forget Kagawa **Macleay Chronicle** (Kempsey, NSW) 4 February 1942, p. 6

Kagawa looked for an economic ideology – an economic system that would square with the ethical teachings of Christianity and he found the answer in Consumer’s Co-operation. Committed to building co-operatives among farmers and laborers alike. He said co-operation is economic Christianity. Co-operative movement in Japan now embraces more than 40% of the population – 25,000,000 individuals. The Light of the Home co-operative magazine has a paid circulation of about one million. Light and Home Societies – groups meet to read the magazine and plan co-operatives.

Kagawa Web Sites

Friends of Jesus

<http://homepage3.nifty.com/iesunotomokai/index.3.htm>

Kagawa Archives and Resource Centre

http://zaidan.unchusha.com/en/en_digital_archives

Kagawa Memorial Centre

<http://www.core100.net/kinenkan/annai.html>

David Griffiths

David Griffiths was Governance Adviser/Governance Officer at the SouthEast Housing Co-operative Ltd between 2006 and 2016. In recent years he has written *The Phoenix* (2010) and *Co-operation – Ideal and Practical* (2014). He also edited *Co-operators – Co-operatives and Co-operation* (2012). He is working on a book – *Co-operation*.

He was Chairman (1997-2001) and Secretary, Co-operatives Victoria (2001- 2015) - including establishing and developing *australia.coop* and *victoria.coop* web sites – and Chairman (2011) and Secretary (2008 – 2013), Co-operatives Australia. He was a member of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on Co-operation (1982-1985) and Co-ordinator, Co-operative Development Program, Ministry of Employment and Training (1982-1985). He is a Lifetime Member, National Co-operative Business Association (USA).